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THE SAME CLIENT:

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF EDUCATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEMS

BY
HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC. / CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY CDP

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The Demographics of Education and Service Delivery Systems

Harold L. Hodgkinson
Center for Demographic Policy
Institute for Educational Leadership

Acknowledgments

Just as *All One System* attempted to extend the range of public schools into the realm of higher education, this study attempts to extend educational demographics into the realm of other human services, a more complex task.

With this in mind, I am particularly grateful to Scott Miller of the Exxon Education Foundation, and to Eugene Wilson and Fred Nelson, of the Arco Foundation, for their support and continual noodging, in the tradition of good Jewish Mothers everywhere. They made me feel guilty for doing less than my best, and forced me to try harder. The Carnegie Foundation was also generous in supporting the project. Barbara Nelson of the Ford Foundation arranged several lunches with Ford staffers which refined in my mind what could be done and how.

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Having said that, the study was basically a solo flight. Although I am grateful for the assistance and friendship, the responsibility for the data selection and interpretation remains entirely with the author.

Harold L. Hodgkinson
Washington, D.C.
September, 1989

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"To the doctor, the child is a typhoid patient; to the playground supervisor, a first baseman; to the teacher, a learner of arithmetic. At times, he may be different things to each of these specialists, but too rarely is he a whole child to any of them."

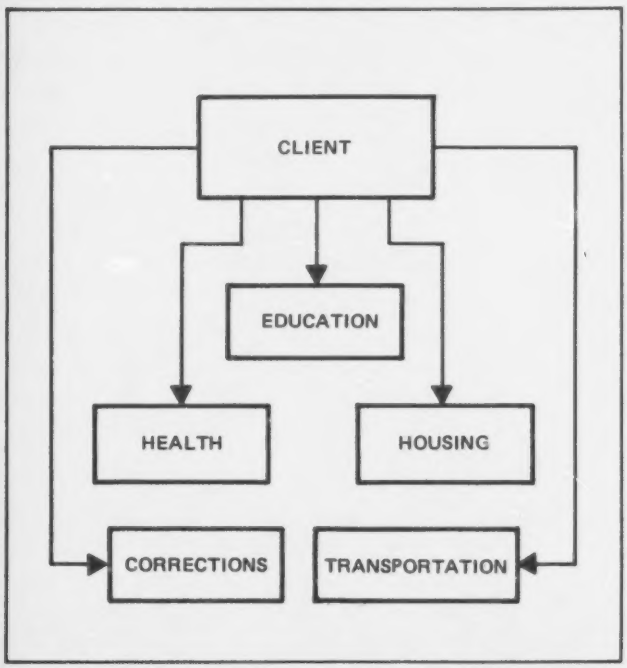
From the 1930 report of the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Introduction

The author's previous study, *All One System*, was written to allow people to see that there was an entire interrelated educational system, stretching from kindergarten to graduate school. The nature of the system, however, was perceived only by the people who could see the whole thing—the people who were moving through it as students. Faculty and administrators, dedicated to one segment of the system, had no direct experience with the other segments, and needed to see the interdependence of the segments. To the degree that we now see an increase in contacts and working programs between higher education and elementary and secondary schools, that agenda is moving along.

The present report is on a different tack, attempting to convey an even larger perspective. Figure 1 illustrates this perspective:

FIGURE 1

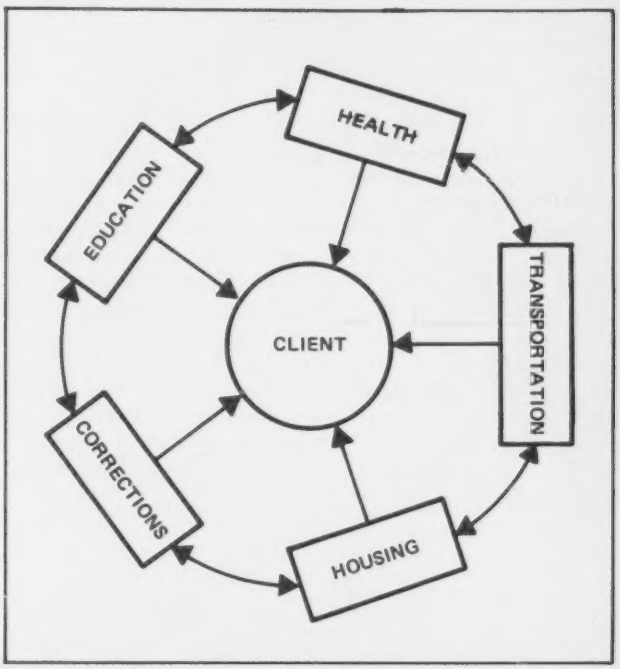


In the United States, services are performed for citizens by a bewildering array of agencies at the federal, state, county and city levels. These services include among others, education, health care, housing, transportation, income maintenance (including food) and police (including justice). In bureaucracies, as German social scientist, Max Weber, pointed out, *means tend to become ends*. The essential focus shifts inward, rewarding those activities which maintain the bureaucracies' inner health, regardless of whether or not it is doing what it is supposed to do. This tendency is as strong in armies as in post offices. If a bureaucracy has used pencils for its entire existence, and is suddenly told to substitute ball point pens, a major riot could result. A means (writing instrument) has become an end ("no outsider can tell us how we should run our business").

Over the years, government agencies with the *same* function have begun to talk to each other more. (In educational, federal, state and local organizations are occasionally inviting each other to their meetings.) While an admirable idea, one of the major outcomes is often organizational maintenance, not improved services.

While it is useful for educators at various levels to communicate, it is no longer enough for the urgent problems we face. Service organizations must begin to see their interdependence *across* functional lines. The best way to do this is to perceive the client as the most important part of the organizations who provide services to that person, family or group. In contrast to Figure 1, this perspective would appear in a very different way (see Figure 2 above).

FIGURE 2



This model suggests that educators at all levels need to begin to become familiar with other service providers at their level, as *they are serving the same children and families as clients*. It is painfully clear that a hungry, sick or homeless child is by definition a poor learner, yet schools usually have no linkage to health or housing organizations outside those run by the schools themselves. There are, as Lyndon Johnson observed, "interlocking effects of deprivation."

At a time when service organizations are increasingly strapped financially, this kind of interactive organization holds promise for much more effective and humane deliv-

ery of a variety of services to clients who are the sole reason for the bureaucracy's existence in the first place! It can be done. In Illinois, several state projects have been funded by giving the money to two different state agencies, making them develop a collaborative strategy for their joint project. *Parents Too Soon* is only one Illinois example. The grants from the Annie Casey Foundation insist that cities show that their agencies are working together to serve clients' needs, or they don't get the money. It may well be that with few increases in funding, we could still magnify the effectiveness of each dollar several times through programs based on interagency collaboration at each governmental level.

At the federal level, it was discovered during the author's tenure as Director of the National Institute of Education (NIE) that the federal government was spending over $400 million in educational research and development in all its agencies, while NIE only had $75 million! The Federal Interagency Committee on Education was designed to consider federal programs in education *across agencies*, just as the International Geophysical Year was designed for the natural and physical sciences.

Similar examples can be found at city and county levels of government. Indeed, these two levels are where "the rubber meets the road" in terms of service delivery to real people in need of those services. Most federal and state programs pass money through to various local agencies that actually administer education, health, housing and most other programs to individual human beings. It is at the local level that interagency collaboration has the greatest return on tax dollars invested. While the federal civilian workforce has remained the same size, there has been some increase in state government workers (especially state college professors) while *local* government workers have expanded many times over in order to implement the new state and federal programs (see Figure 3). Many have noticed that in education, health care and social work, those who provide direct services—teachers, nurses, social workers—are at the bottom of the status hierarchy.

FIGURE 3

GOVERNMENT WORKERS[1]

[1]Number of federal, state and local employees.

Source: *American Demographics*, 1986.

In order to see these relationships and the need for collaboration among various agencies serving the same clients, we will review recent information about each one, including the implications for educational services. In each service, we will look at how that organization provides its services throughout the client's life, as *All One System* attempted to view the educational system. We will also discuss other forces mandating collaboration (such as the movement of cities across state lines).

Education, Families and Housing

Since the end of World War II, the word "housing" conjures up in most people's minds a detached, single family home in the suburbs, occupied by a working "breadwinner" father, a housewife mother, and two children of public school age. This kind of family is now *6%* of the households in the U.S., a radical decline. In fall, 1988, 18 percent of college freshmen reported that they had a housewife mother. In addition, the *idea* of housing (actually a cut-down version of the medieval "Lord of the Manor" notion, but limited to a quarter acre plot) was based on the very dominant rights of new veterans to: (1) go to college; (2) own their own home; (3) have three children; and (4) convince their new wives to give up their "Rosie the Riveter" jobs and devote themselves totally to (2) and (3).

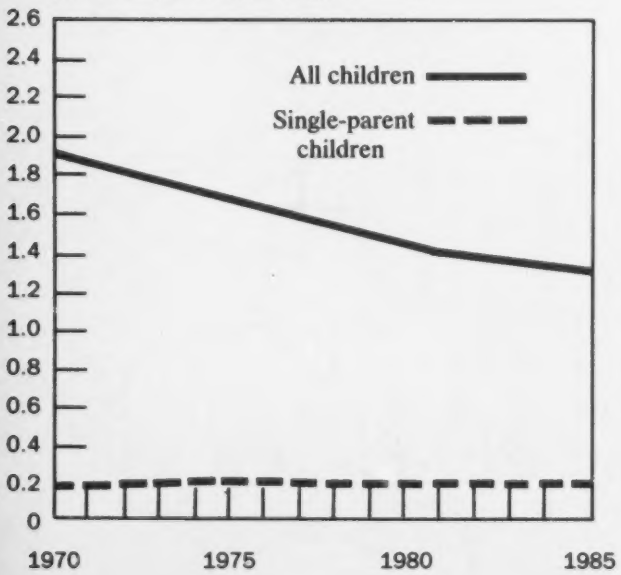
Today, the "Leave It To Beaver" household seems very atypical. The American family is now one person smaller than in 1950. Although most of us are married, *over one-third of all marriages performed in 1988 were second marriages for at least one partner.*

In addition, of the 91,066,000 households in the U.S. in 1988, married couples with children were 27 percent or 24,600,000 households, while *non-family* households were 28.5 percent, or 25,933,000 households (non-family includes 24 percent one-person households, and 4.4 percent households with persons living with unrelated others). To have more non-family households than family households with children is to suggest the striking decline in birthrate that lies behind the numbers.

FIGURE 4

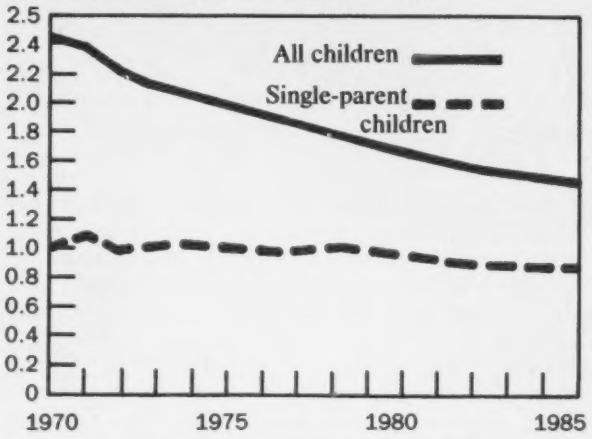
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WHITE WOMAN

(Children per Woman, Ages 18-44)



NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER BLACK WOMAN

(Children per Woman, Ages 18–44)



Source: U.S. Department of Public Health, 1988.

In addition, with over half of all of today's new marriages slated to end in divorce, we have *15.3 million* children living with one parent, the mother in over 90 percent of the cases. (It is interesting, and seldom discussed, that 1.9 million children live with neither parent, in mostly foster homes, with distant relatives, or have been adopted. Also, 23 percent of all children born today are born outside of marriage.) Of the children living with one parent:

- *50 percent of white children are with a mother who divorced.*
- *54 percent of black children are with a never-married mother.*
- *33 percent of Hispanic children's mothers have not married.*

This is the major reason we have an increase in youth poverty in our nation, now 23 percent of all young children aged 0–5 years. Today, *40 percent of the poor are children and 10 percent are elderly.* While poverty rates are declining slightly, youth poverty for children aged 0-5 is increasing. The reasons are based on household income:

- *The average income for married couples with children: $36,206*
- *The average income for female households with children: $11,299*

At the other end of the age scale, we have already seen a major shift toward the aging of America, if we look at the numbers of people over the age of 65:

	1980	1987	
Persons age:			
65+	25,550,000	29,834,000	"Elders"
35–44	25,698,000	34,380,000	"Baby Boomers"
Under 5	16,348,000	18,252,000	"Baby Boomlet"

The Baby Boomers' move into their middle years caused an 8.7 million increase, while people over the age of 65 increased 4.3 million, and the so-called "Baby Boomlet" of the youngest children only increased 1.9 million. The Boomlet ends in 1990, as a much smaller group of women begins to enter the childbearing years. The Boomers are marrying late and having very few children per family (Boomlet), which is why 50 percent of the children born today are first (and probably last) children, while in 1950 only 25 percent of the infants born were first children—75 percent were to families with more than one child. Virtually all of the over-65's are eligible for some sort of retirement payments. The dependency ratio of elderly to youth has been shifting since 1900, away from youth and toward elderly (see Figure 5 below).

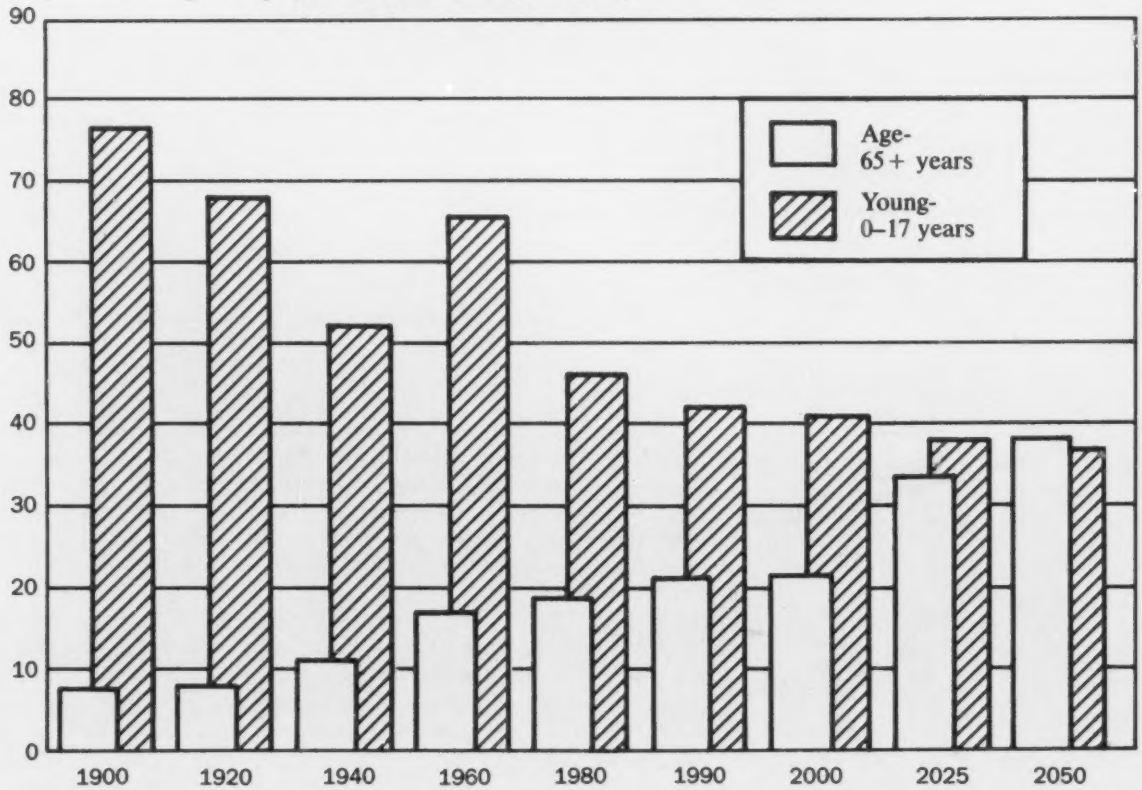
Finally, as we think of the diverse patterns in which we live with (or without) each other, we should consider two more factors, the short-cycle family and the multiple dependent family.

Short-cycle families (see Figure 6 next page) are those which produce a new child every 14 years or so. In Los Angeles last year, I met a 28 year-old *grandmother*. (She had a 14 year-old daughter who had just given birth.) I asked the grandmother how old her mother was when she was born, and she indicated 14 again. Thus, there is, in Los Angeles, a 42 year-old *great grandmother*. (No fathers were living with any of the mothers.) This was a white family, in poverty.

FIGURE 5

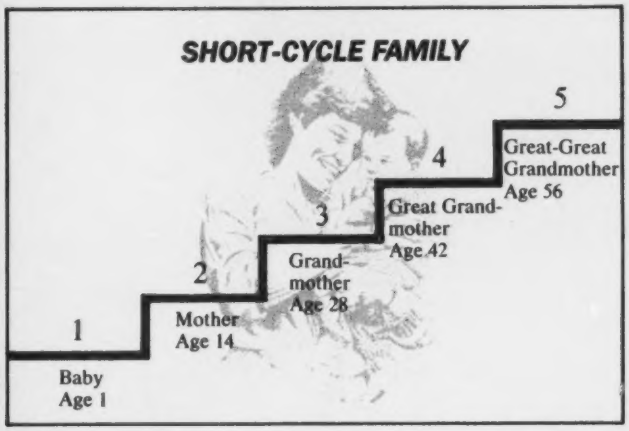
DEPENDENCY RATES OF ELDERLY TO YOUTH

(Number in Age Range per 1000 Persons Aged 18-24)



Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1984.

FIGURE 6



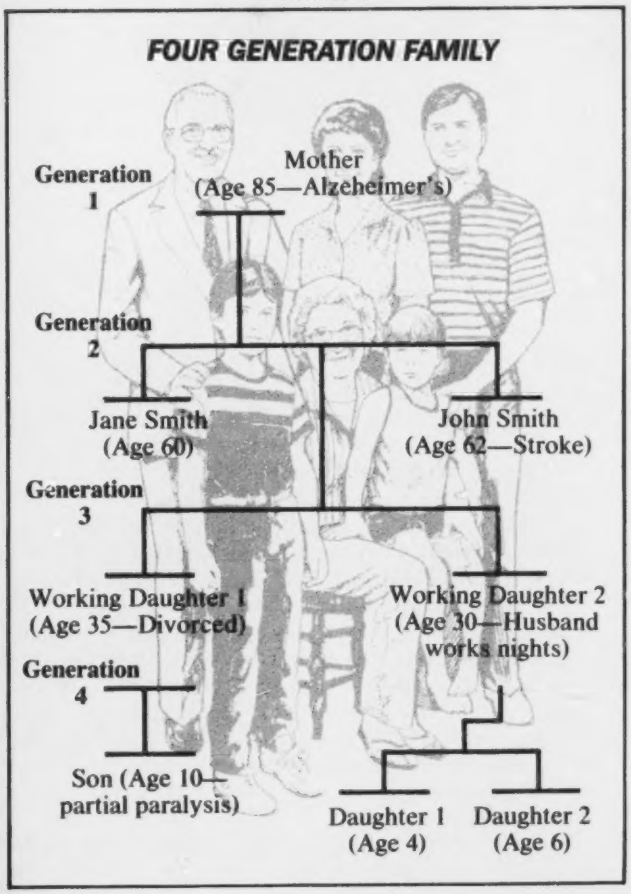
Source: Based on information from the *Wall Street Journal*, January 27, 1984.

As middle-class families of whatever race cut back on their birth rates, we find this new form of poverty family that goes through a "generation" every 14 years. No one knows how many of these short-cycle families there are, but their identity has been reported in quantity by the *Wall Street Journal*, among others.

It may well be that *regardless of race*, our middle class is not reproducing itself. In the past, women graduated from college and got married, giving us a large middle class of well-educated people and a fairly high birth rate. Currently, without our 16 million immigrants, our population would not have expanded much at all since 1980. Estimates have been made that one-fifth of the females now in college are likely to have no children at all. Even black middle-class fertility is falling, as are fertility rates in almost all of the NATO nations. Into this context, the short-cycle family, almost always a poverty family, has a very great impact.

Longer life expectancy plus more divorces yields the multiple dependent family. Think of a married couple, the Smiths, 60 and 62 years old. The husband has had a stroke and cannot care for himself. The wife's 85 year-old mother has come to live with them. They have two daughters, the first has been divorced and has a child with partial paralysis who cannot go to school. The second daughter has two children, and she and her husband live in the same house with all the others. The sixty year-old wife is responsible for the care of her mother, her husband, the partially paralyzed son of her first daughter when she is working, and the 4 year-old child of her second daughter who is too young to go to school. This multiple dependent family (shown in Figure 7) is rapidly becoming more common in the U.S.

FIGURE 7



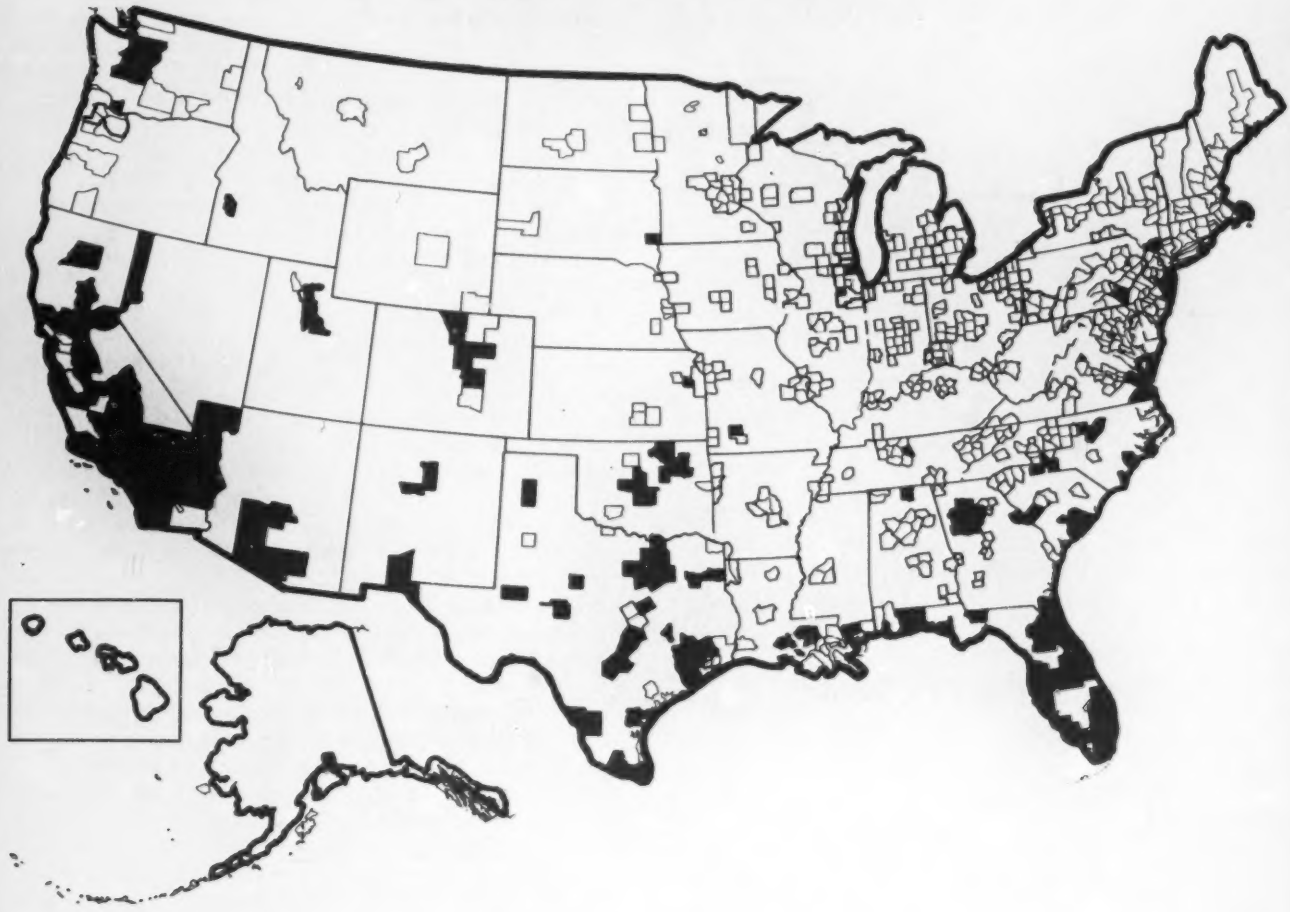
Being a nomadic sort, we wander around the face of the nation more frequently than any other people. As we wander, we expect our housing supply to wander as well. However, the vast majority of our moves are within the same county—only about 15 percent of movers go out of state. To a large extent, being optimistic by nature, we move toward opportunity (60 percent of moves), while only 20 percent are moves out of an unpleasant situation, and 20 percent are "flat"—neither up or down. To a considerable extent, we can predict population growth based upon job growth, especially in a society of working couples. Migration profiles do not have the precision of other kinds of demographic analysis, but tables like the following do give us a real sense of where new housing will have to be built:

JOB GROWTH, 1987–2000

Metropolitan Area	*Percent*	*Number*
Anaheim-Santa Ana	+46	616
Orlando	+39	215
Fort Lauderdale	+38	216
San Jose	+36	349
Phoenix	+34	347
Dallas	+31	472
	Subtotal (6 areas):	2,215
U.S. Total:	+16	20,700

Source: National Planning Association

METRO AREAS WITH POPULATION GROWTH 10 PERCENT OR HIGHER, 1980–87

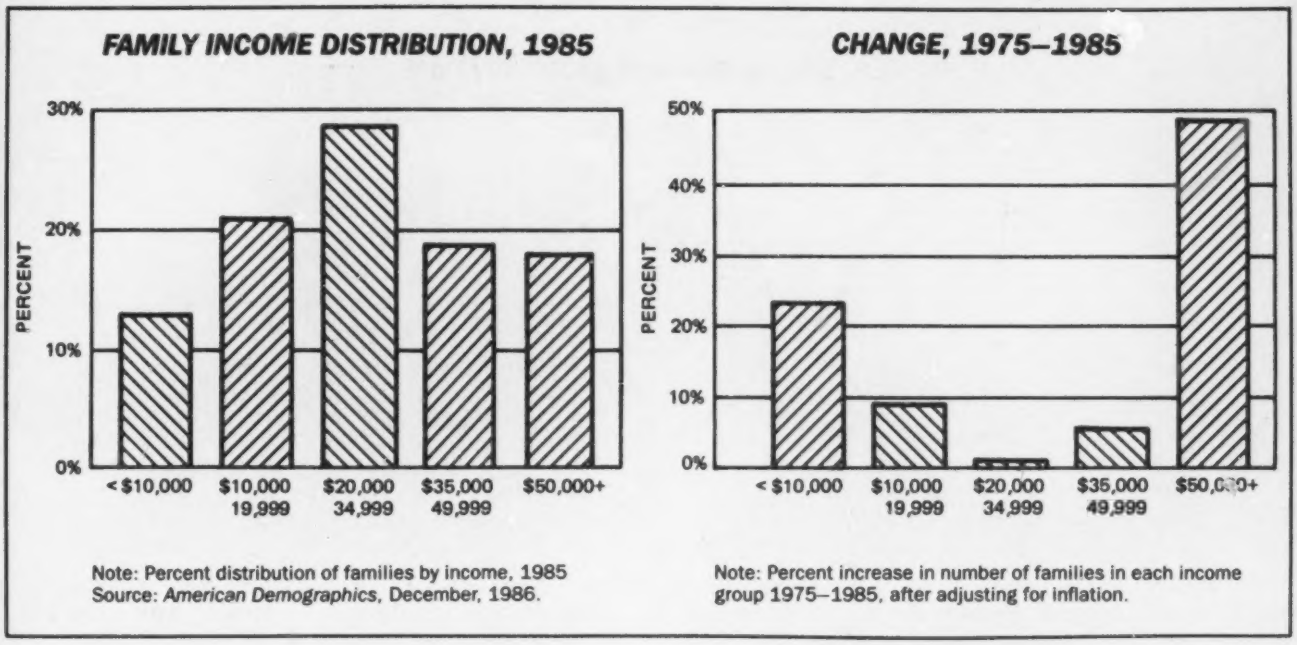


Source: Map courtesy of Population Reference Bureau, data from U.S. Census Bureau.

Tracing the same kind of analysis for the nation, we can look at our major metropolitan areas to see where growth will occur (see map above).

When one thinks of the increased diversity of our living arrangements, one wonders about the quality, affordability and flexibility of the housing in which we live! There are several factors to take into account:

- The 70 million Baby Boomers, born between 1946 and 1964, are now between the ages of 25 and 43. We have failed to anticipate their housing needs, except for the wealthy among them.
- From 1973-87, home ownership rates for young married couples dropped from 38.9 percent to 29.1 percent; single-parent families owning homes went down from 13.7 percent to 6.3 percent.
- In the past 15 years, housing costs have increased three times faster than income, resulting in a decrease in home ownership from 1980-87. First-time home buyers are having severe difficulty, as an average down payment in 1985 was 50 percent of a buyer's wages, up from 33 percent in 1978.
- From 1984-86, households with real income of under $5,000 increased 55 percent, while the stock of low-rental housing units *decreased* by over one million.
- The federal government has basically stopped building low income housing. The current stock of 4 million low income housing units subsidized by the federal government has stopped growing, and is likely to decline as contracts with developers expire and are not renewed. *There are 8 million low income renters competing for 4 million housing units.*
- Over 6 million households pay more than 50 percent of their incomes in rent. Another 5 million pay more than 35 percent. In 1975, rentals averaged only 23 percent of income. *According to housing specialist Apgar, single parents today pay 58 percent of their*



Note: Percent distribution of families by income, 1985
Source: *American Demographics*, December, 1986.

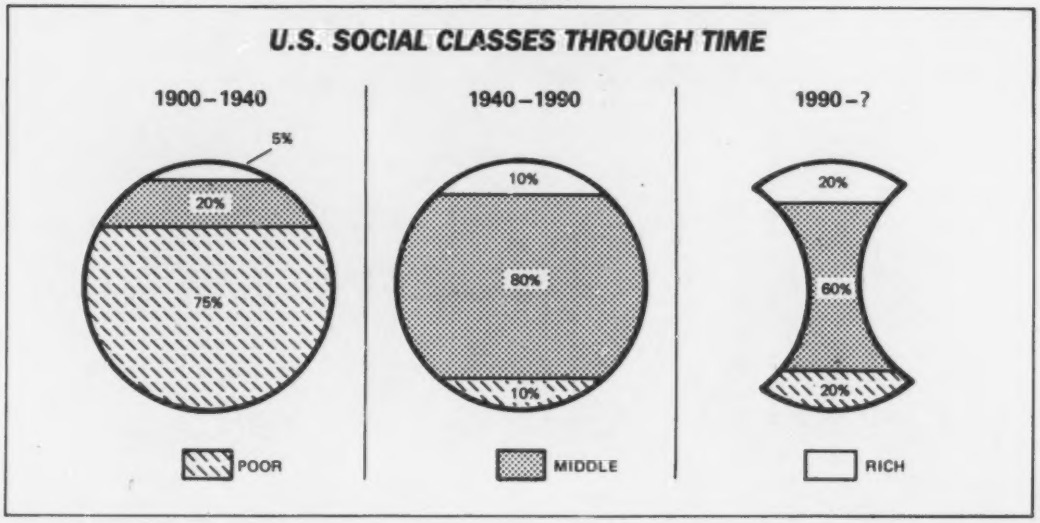
Note: Percent increase in number of families in each income group 1975–1985, after adjusting for inflation.

incomes in rent, young single parents with children living with them are now paying 81 percent of their income in rent in 1988. According to *A Place to Call Home*, released in April, 1989, 45 percent of all poverty families pay more than *70 percent* of their annual incomes in rent. The typical poor family of three would have $3,000 left to pay for everything else—medical care, transportation, food.

- Tax breaks for home builders have produced an overabundance of condominiums for the wealthy, suburban mansions, and even second homes for vacations and retirement, but not low income housing. There are presently no incentives for building the latter.
- Although the numbers are sketchy, there is an epidemic of homeless people, estimated by William Grieder at 2.5 million in 1988. In many cities, families now compose over 50 percent of the homeless population. Most homeless families are headed by women with two or three children under age 5.
- Reston, Virginia, a planned community in very affluent suburban Virginia, has been a model in housing for the nation. However, its new community shelter for the homeless has turned away 1,000 people since its opening in 1988. About 20 of its 80 beds are occupied by children.
- Rental housing vacancies have increased from 1.5 million units to 2.7 million during the 1980's, but over 90 percent of the vacancies are in the high end of the market. Demand for low income units, caused by major increases in Americans who work full-time and yet are in poverty, will push rents on low income units up another 25 percent by 1993, given the realities of demand being *twice* the supply.
- In 1980, $10.5 billion in subsidized low interest housing loans were made available to first-time home buyers through the Mortgage Revenue Bond Program. The Congressional Research Service estimates that in 1990 the number will drop to $2 billion.
- In 1988, over 4 million Americans worked full-time, yet were eligible for poverty benefits. These people work jobs in the low end of the service economy that pay minimum wage or less, and are very dependent on the small amount of subsidized housing, for which the demand (and rentals) are increasing rapidly. Thus, new jobs in the American economy have created more rich workers, more poor, and fewer in the middle (see charts above).
- We also know that homeless children are much more likely to have anemia, malnutrition and asthma, as well as much lower school attendance. In one study, an estimated 43 percent of homeless children had serious developmental delays.

What does this mean for education? A large number of questions in this area have seldom been asked. Our post-World War II housing stock was designed for a family unit that now constitutes only 28 percent of American households (married couples with children). If we look at the 23 percent of young children in America who are below the poverty line, we can be quite sure that they are hungry quite often, that their mothers are not with them in the afternoon, and that there is no place in their housing that can be set aside for studying purposes. The *average* woman raising children only has $11,000 in income a year; thus the *average* child raised by a single mother (and there are 15 million such children in 1989) is living within $1,000 of the poverty point.

FIGURE 8



It is also quite likely that the child's commute to school will be long and complex, as will the mother's commute to work, due to the location of the apartment in which they live. In a one-bedroom apartment, the child's "room" is likely to be a convertible sofa in the living room, including the television, the phone and other distractions, right next to a busy, noisy kitchen. The school is so far away that the mother is unable to get there in the evenings for teacher conferences and other activities. (And, she is likely to be bone tired after working hard all day, commuting, and making dinner for her child/children.) In addition, rents are such a high percent of this family's income that *any* crisis—repairs on the car, for example—can tip the family into the street as additional homeless. Our housing patterns mirror the job structure, with more rich, more poor, and fewer in the middle—the "hourglass effect" (see above).

Although there are few studies of the point, housing, which eats up such a large percentage of the income of the most vulnerable parents, is undoubtedly a major factor in school dropouts and failures. If we as a nation were to develop a strategy for reducing the number of children in poverty (40 percent of America's poor are children) there are at least two strategies we might pursue: (1) a range of programs for helping people who are in poverty to get out: very expensive and not very successful; or (2) *helping people who are not yet in poverty to stay out of it*: relatively cheap and, in the McKnight Foundation example, very effective. (Grants of $25–$50 were made available within a few hours, to women whose cars had broken down, who had medical or day care emergencies, etc. Getting the money *quickly* made the difference, and kept these families intact and operating.)

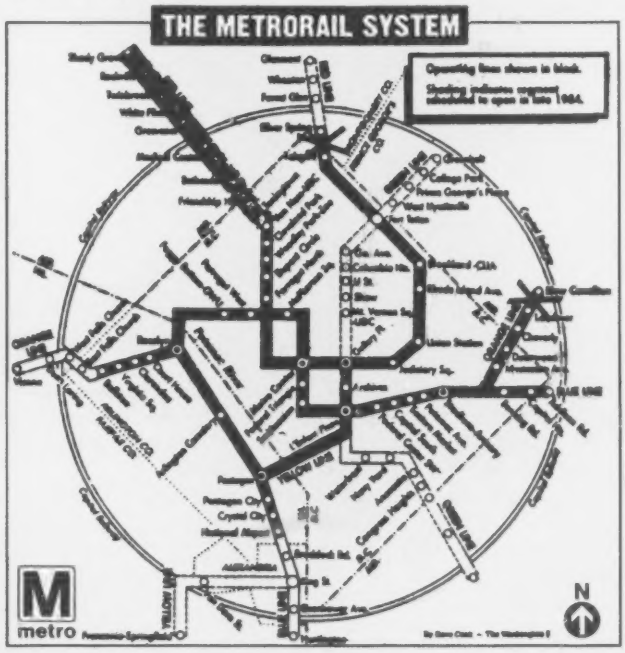
The second strategy, like preventive medicine, could be based on limiting the area in which potential poverty families are most vulnerable—housing. A range of programs needs to be developed to accomplish this goal—to keep working families with low incomes out of poverty in the first place. Housing is the most important area of vulnerability. If low income children were living in economically and socially secure housing with some rent protection, there is little doubt that most of them could stay out of poverty and in school, while their parent(s) could stay on the job and off welfare. We are just beginning to understand the effects of such a strategy on many other areas of life, including education, health, crime, etc. The costs of housing innovations would be a small drop in the bucket, compared to the benefits of having more kids staying in school to become taxpaying job holders!

In addition to this youth-oriented housing strategy, we need to think of housing as a life-long need. The conservatism of American housing designs and site selections is partially responsible for higher energy costs, long commutes to work and day care, the isolation of women in suburbia, the lack of low income housing and appropriate elderly housing. Other nations are far ahead of us in rethinking housing for the *next* century—Denmark has 67 communities built on the principle of co-housing, allowing for private residence but sharing a number of functions, such as laundry, children's playrooms and fields, workshops, guest rooms and a common dining hall and kitchen, in addition to kitchens in each dwelling, allowing the choice of meals in private or with members of the community. Elderly people have much to do in such communities.

In the U.S., we are rediscovering "Granny Flats," creating apartments for singles out of garages and other attached and detached structures. In England and Australia, you get tax breaks for them, in America you are breaking the zoning code in most places and would be punished. Wealthy suburbs increasingly have low income jobs to be done—janitors, fry cooks, maids—but there is no housing for such people in the community. That is the problem solved by Granny Flats, along with increasing the housing stock for the elderly. The Portland, Oregon group called Shared Housing is also successfully brokering tenant needs with a variety of housing opportunities. But these are isolated examples in a sea of invalid assumptions about who lives in America's housing.

Education and Transportation

Here is an area in which all of the post World War II chickens are coming home to roost. Because of our desire to create suburbs with single family houses, one worker in each one, and car transport to (manufacturing) jobs located downtown, we created a transportation network of road and rail that would function like a hub and its spokes. From your house, you would get to the nearest "spoke" (highway, bus or rapid transit rail) which would deposit you, and almost always your private car, downtown near your job. The illustration of the Washington, D.C. Metro system mirrors this hub-spoke philosophy:



This is a great system for the wrong people. In Chicago today, more than 60 percent of all commuters are going *from a suburban home to a suburban job*. "Suburbs" like Irvine, California and Alexandria, Virginia, now contain more jobs than households. Look at our Metro map above, and ask how the people who live in Silver Spring and work in New Carrollton are going to use public transport to get to work! It can be done, but it's not an easy or efficient trip. If we connect these "spokes" so that one can move efficiently from suburb to suburb, using both public and private transportation sources, we will have something that looks like a spiderweb, but it will be the most *expensive* spiderweb in the world!

This movement of jobs and people to "beyond the beltway" deep suburbs will only further the isolation of big cities, and resegregate cities for those who do not have the education and/or finances to make the move to the suburbs. In places like Dearborn, Michigan, polls have shown that for many residents, a trip downtown has become a ceremonial occasion to be engaged in three or four times a year. Dearborn, Irvine, Riverside, Oak Brook—the list of autonomous suburbs with as many jobs as households is endless. We can now understand one of the most baffling phenomena in modern life—the beltway, usually designed to be the *last* road to jam up, is now usually the first. The typical car, rather than getting on the beltway for the short ride to the nearest "spoke" to downtown, is staying on the beltway for two or three times as many miles, going all the way from suburban home to suburban job. If each car stays on the road for three times as many miles as expected, you have the equivalent of three times the number of cars on the road; ergo, gridlock.

Let's look at how the 96 million workers in 1980 got to work (see table page 10). Unfortunately, this 1980 Census data is the most recent available.

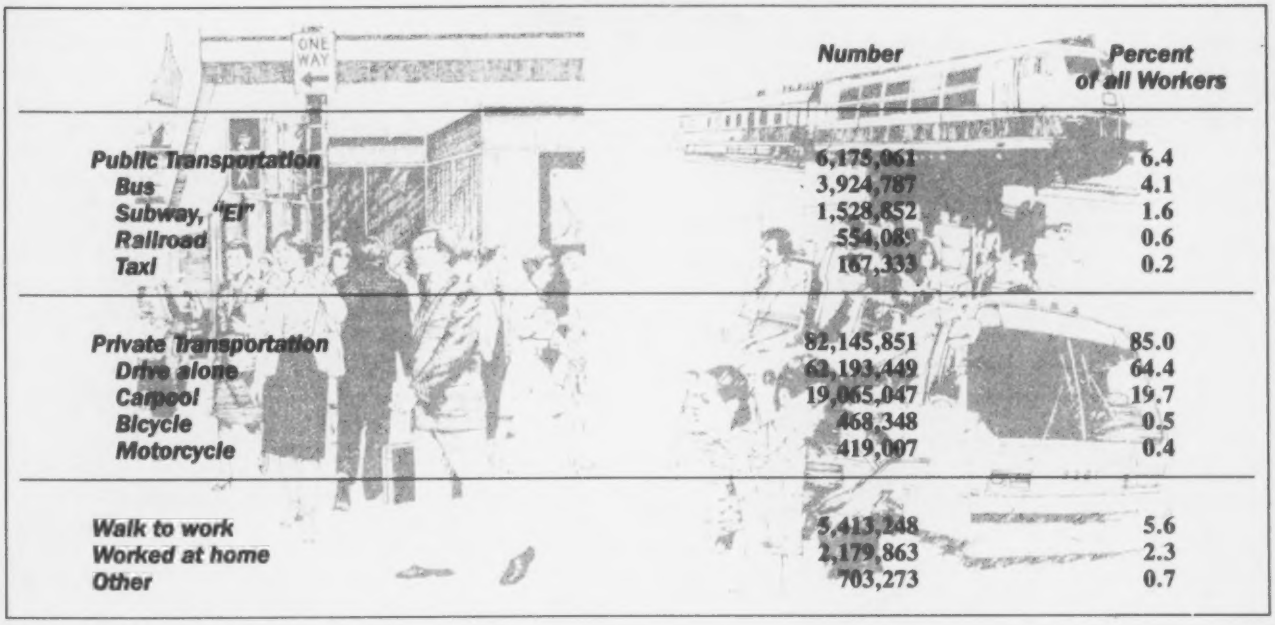
Although there *may* be a big increase in walkers and bikers in the new Census numbers, due to be published after this publication is released, a good guess is that the private car will continue to dominate commutation, although carpooling will be up on those roads that give specific lanes to carpoolers during rush hour. In addition, employer-operated vanpools may have made a significant dent. We'll have to wait and see.

Some things *are* certain. First, proven oil resources matched with demand indicate that there is no chance that we will run out of oil in the next decade. (Prices could double, however, but there will be oil to buy, at some price.) Second, as the number of people living alone increases, there could even be an *increase* in cars with only the driver. (Even if, as in Wyoming, most drivers own a car and a pick-up truck, it is theoretically impossible for the owner to drive both simultaneously.) In two-income families, *most* will have two cars. It also seems certain that massive capitalization of large-scale new transit systems is not in the cards for most cities. (The current Los Angeles beginning is not matched with a determination to get to some predetermined goal. Western cities, with their lower population densities, present difficult problems for mass transportation.)

Is is also certain that our transportation system is not going to find solutions to the travel needs of 30 million people over 65, nor to the transportation problems of about 10 million handicapped adults. (One of the shining lights of our much-maligned public schools is the excellent transportation service which transports about 23 million students each day, at a cost of $5.7 billion in 1985. If only their mothers had such a system to get *them* to work!)

Largely created by pressures from the automobile, we now have homes that are a very long way from jobs, jobs that are an equally long way from day care centers, and schools that are equally far from jobs, homes and day care centers. (Why we don't have more day care centers in office parks and work places generally escapes me.) The only one of these routes that is generally handled very efficiently with public transportation is the ride from home to school. School buses have a wonderful advantage in not being dependent on fares for any of their revenue.

THE JOURNEY TO WORK



	Number	Percent of all Workers
Public Transportation	6,175,061	6.4
Bus	3,924,787	4.1
Subway, "El"	1,528,852	1.6
Railroad	554,089	0.6
Taxi	167,333	0.2
Private Transportation	82,145,851	85.0
Drive alone	62,193,449	64.4
Carpool	19,065,047	19.7
Bicycle	468,348	0.5
Motorcycle	419,007	0.4
Walk to work	5,413,248	5.6
Worked at home	2,179,863	2.3
Other	703,273	0.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980.

Because most metro transit systems are run by people with political connections, raising fares is inherently painful to them. We generally have increases in ridership on public transport and a simultaneous *decline* in passenger revenues per mile.

Our mass transit system is also designed to operate at peak volume for only a few hours a day, creating imbalances in staffing and scheduling in a very labor-intensive business. In spite of suggestions that mass transit operate on a more regular schedule, pulling in other transportation systems during the four or five peak hours to supplement their services (including jitneys, dial-a-ride services, and even off-duty school buses), there are few working examples of this admirable idea.

The taxicab industry is one of the few "wild cards" in the transportation mix. When we think of total ridership, as many people ride cabs as ride trains every day. There are numerous examples of public sector contracts going to cab companies for the transportation of special user groups, including the handicapped. In addition, dial-a-ride programs, allowing cabs to transport several people to adjacent locations, holds promise for a variety of services not being covered today.

Handicapped and elderly people (and those who are both) have very special transportation needs that could be met with a dial-a-ride type of system, at a much lower cost than the costs for a single passenger going to *any* destination offered in a conventional cab. This makes better sense than offering older and handicapped people discount fares on conventional mass transit, although the political advantage of lower fares for groups that are frequent voters can be understood. (Fifty-nine percent of Baby Boomers vote, while 69 percent of 45 to 64 year-olds do! Who would *you* give reduced fares to?)

The educationally related transport problem most in need of repair is that of low income families with children, in which the mother must get the kids to day care and herself to work. Without a car, these trips can be a most excruciating combination of buses and subways, held together by a fragile thread. If the ride consists of four buses in sequence, one miss can mean a major delay, and that's just to get the kids to day care. Then another complicated sequence to get yourself to work, followed by the reverse at the end of day. If a child is sick, you add to the recipe the problem of getting to medical services by public transportation *before* you get yourself to work.

With an (old) car, the problems of single parents are reduced but not eliminated. If the car breaks down, or needs maintenance, there may be no alternative public transport. If the mother lacks funds to get the car fixed, or is behind in the rent, that may be the ball game. (This is why the McKnight Foundation program of instantaneous mini-grants was so successful in helping single parent women achieve self-sufficiency on very low incomes.)

One wonders what would happen if schools began to insert their $5 billion bus fleet into the solution of these problems. In some districts, school buses are basically "down" between the hours of 9:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., and can be used to transport groups of elderly, handicapped, working mothers on flex-time, and other people in need of transportation, as well as groups of students going on

class trips, etc. While some will argue about insurance limitations, most buses can transport students out of district for athletic contests. If school buses *are* a public resource, then perhaps they can make a big dent in some of the transportation problems of special publics, as we have proposed.

Our school bus fleet is mainly suburban, leaving students in inner city schools with more walking to subway or commercial bus routes, more travel through dangerous streets. Even with reduced or free fares, the danger level is still considerably higher for city schools. On the other hand, increased population density in many cities means a short walk or ride to school, even though the short trip may be risky. (And given the greater frequency of cabs in central cities, plus the large number of single mothers with low incomes, that is an area in which dial-a-ride cab programs could be implemented on a trial basis.)

It is through looking at transportation that we can see how linked our educational system is with other social services. If transportation goes down, so do education, health and government. When we criticize low income mothers for not showing up at evening or mid-day parent conferences, a look at their transportation logistics for that day might give us a little more sympathy and understanding. A universal complaint from such mothers, about schools, banks, city offices, etc., is clear: "Why not be open on Saturday when I'm not working?" Indeed, with appropriate teacher compensation, why not have parents conferences in school on Saturday if it is clear that the mother just cannot get in during the week? As an ever-increasing percentage of our youth are raised by single mothers, the question will become more urgent.

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Education and Health

We seem to spend more on health care than any other nation, but the return on our investment ($551 *billion* in 1988, up from $500 billion in 1987) is mixed in terms of the health of the American people. Thirty-seven million Americans have no health insurance or coverage, and 12 million of these people are children. Of these uninsured children, 87 percent live in families with one or more employed adults. As with our "declining middle" view, the wealthy are consuming more (excellent) health care, leaving fewer health care dollars for the low income family. In 1986, more than 38,000 infants died before reaching the age of one year, or 10.6 deaths for every 1,000 births. Black infant mortality in the U.S. is twice the rate of whites.

The reasons for this situation are very simple—one of every four pregnant women in the U.S. gets no care during the crucial first three months of pregnancy, about 20 percent of white mothers and 38 percent of black mothers. Without care in the first three months, a mother is *three to six times* more likely to have a premature, low birth weight baby, just the kind who is likely not to survive the first year of life. No esoteric medicine is needed here, just one physical examination for *all* pregnant women during the first trimester plus a reasonable diet. Again, early treatment saves economic and human costs later on.

In addition, it would be hard to call the U.S. a world leader in low infant death rates for all our people:

INFANT MORTALITY RATES,* 1986

Finland, Japan, Iceland	•	6.2
Sweden	•	6.3
Denmark, Switzerland	•	7.7
Norway	•	7.9
Netherlands	•	8.3
Canada	•	8.5
France	•	8.5
Hong Kong	•	9.2
Singapore	•	9.4
Australia	•	9.6
Ireland	•	9.8
England & Wales	•	10.1
East Germany	•	10.3
West Germany	•	10.3
United States	•	10.6

*Deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births.
Source: Demographic Office of UNICEF.

Another example of this strange "cost-benefit" characteristic of American medicine is the medical triumph over most major childhood diseases, while growing numbers of preschoolers without immunization threaten a return of these same terrible diseases. The percentage of fully immunized children in the U.S. is less than one-half the percentage in Britain, Canada, Spain, France, Sweden and Israel. Again, a cheap early solution is ignored, risking long term suffering and soaring costs.

In an article reported in *Health Management Quarterly*, Americans were much more disenchanted with their health care system than citizens of Britain or Canada. Eighty-nine percent of the Americans sampled said that their system was not working and requires fundamental change, while only 10 percent thought the system was working "pretty well," compared to 56 percent of the Canadians and 27 percent of the British who voted "pretty well" for their systems. (In both Canada and Britain, the government sets medical fees, and virtually all citizens are covered for virtually all costs.) A majority of all income and occupational groups of Americans preferred the Canadian system to their own. The real irony here is that the U.S. now leads all of the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development nations in percentage of Gross Domestic Product devoted to health care.

To be fair, for those that can afford it, "high end" medical care in the U.S. is among the best available anywhere. But certain groups are systematically made vulnerable. First is children, whose parents may not have health coverage, or when they do, the coverage may be limited to the worker and not dependents. Second is older people, as Medicare now covers less than half of elderly health costs. Medicaid is a "safety net" for many, but one must become financially indigent before many of its benefits can be activated. As the dependency ratios shift from three dependent kids to one dependent older person, to about two-to-one by 2010, and moving to one-to-one in the long term future, we can see a major escalation of medical costs, which are concentrated in the last few years of a person's life.

About 11 percent of America's school children are enrolled in special classes for the handicapped. Although this is a guess, about *one third* of these children would have a smaller handicap, or none at all, if adequate medical care had been provided during pregnancy and during the first year of life. (Of the 4,374,000 such children in 1986-87, 1,914,000 are learning disabled, 1,136,000 are speech impaired and 643,000 are mentally retarded. Many of these conditions can be traced to lack of detection of the problem during early pregnancy, from prematurity and low birth weight to the inability of a premature child's immune system to fight off a variety of diseases, especially those that attack the central nervous system.)

Special education works exceptionally well, and most of the "special ed" students will be able to care for themselves, get jobs and become independent. But the costs for some students can range up to $100,000 a year. One physical exam in the first trimester ($15–$50) plus advice on adequate nutrition for the mother during pregnancy (free during the physical) could prevent our spending up to $100,000 on *the same child* a few years later, not to mention having another human being who can function at a much higher level. Do we really prefer to keep on spending the $100,000 rather than the $15–$50?

If we add to the mix the vulnerability of youth to drugs, to teen pregnancies, to AIDS transmitted directly or through the parents, to juvenile suicides, to long hours spent in front of the TV, to junk food or no food for poverty kids, there are many reasons to suspect that the health of America's youth will decline in the future.

The Surgeon General has been very effective in his spotlight on AIDS and alcohol abuse, but local action to remedy these problems seems to be slow. Although many schools have added clinics to provide a wider variety of treatments in school settings, it may be time for a locally based coalition of school board, administration, faculty and community leaders to look seriously at the *educational* benefits of making sure that every pregnant mother in the community gets at least one prenatal exam during her first trimester. The costs are so small, and the benefits and savings so great that every school district would benefit directly by taking this step. Add to this the necessity of having *every* child protected against childhood diseases, and you have two remarkably cost-effective local projects in which education can work effectively with leaders from health and medicine.

Education and Crime

The relationships here are particularly striking, in that *82 percent of America's prisoners are high school dropouts*. Although there is considerable variation across states, a prisoner costs about $20,000 a year just to maintain. A college student or a young child in a Head Start program costs the taxpayer about $3,500 each. While one child in six eligible for Head Start is actually in a program, *every* prisoner gets his/her "entitlement" payment of $20,000. (Think of the educational system we could run in the U.S. if we had $20,000 to spend per student, kindergarten through graduate school!) At the college level, the various Trio programs have success rates as good as Head Start—a young person enrolled in Upward Bound, for example, is *four times* more likely to graduate from college than a control group who did not participate in the program. Like Head Start, unfortunately, Talent Search (another Trio success) is serving only about 20 percent of the eligible students.

If entitlement means that you get the benefits of the program if you fit a category, then prisoners are the *best* example of 100 percent entitlement in all of our services! The cost is astounding—in Pennsylvania I have told government leaders that in their state, it is seven times more expensive to have someone in the state pen than it is to have someone in Penn State. Most people can see that the prison system sucks away enormous resources that could be better spent elsewhere, and that anything that keeps people out of prison—like education—is an excellent long-term investment. One does not need to be a liberal to appreciate this analysis, a pragmatist will see it just as clearly.

Here is a good example of how education affects, and is affected by, other systems. If the present rate of high school dropouts (70 percent of sophomores graduate as seniors, on time) could be reduced so that *80 percent* graduated from high school, and prison populations could be reduced by a proportionate fraction, billions of dollars in tax revenues could be reallocated to far more productive social purposes. It is obvious that getting more youth through high school is no *guarantee* of a lowered prison population in future years, but an increase in prison allocations will drain away enough money from education and other sectors that no increase in school performance could be possible. The correlation between high school dropout and prisoner rates is a trifle higher than the correlation between smoking and lung cancer. By and large, states with the best rate of high school graduation have very low rates of prisoners per 1,000 population.

These relationships certainly suggest that efforts in education are very likely to lower the incarceration rate. Florida, for example, leads the nation in high school dropouts *and* in prisoners per 100,000 population, while Minnesota is 50th in dropouts and 49th in prisoners! All of our top ten states (shown in the table below) with the best graduation rates are below the national average of 228 prisoners per 100,000 population, excepting only Kansas.

TEN STATES WITH THE BEST GRADUATION RATES, 1987		PRISONERS PER 100,000 POPULATION	1987 RANK
1. Minnesota	90.6% graduate	60	49th
2. Wyoming	89.3%	195	28th
3. North Dakota	88.4%	57	50th
4. Nebraska	86.7%	123	40th
5. Montana	86.4%	147	33rd
6. Iowa	86.2%	101	43rd
7. Wisconsin	84.4%	124	39th
8. Ohio	82.8%	224	24th
9. Kansas	82.1%	237	22nd
10. Utah	80.6%	111	41st

Source: U.S. Department of Education and Bureau of the Census.

Five are among the ten states with the lowest number of prisoners. (Ohio, by the way, has done extraordinarily well in improving its high school graduation rate, being the only large population, urban, manufacturing, ethnically diverse, established poverty state in the top ten.)

In thinking about the cost-effectiveness of various systems, consider the performance results of Head Start participants *16 years* after the programs were completed, compared to a control group:

HEAD START YOUTH AT AGE 19

	Head Start	Control Group
Percent Employed	59%	32%
High School Graduates	67%	49%
Enrolled In College	38%	21%
Been Arrested	31%	51%
On Welfare	18%	32%

This is spectacular performance for 16 years after the treatment was initiated. In fact, a dollar invested in Head Start saves you $7 in later services you don't need to provide (like jails). Fully funding Head Start would be the most cost-effective way to reduce high school dropouts and welfare recipients, as well as astronomic jail costs, while increasing high school and college graduation rates.

How well does the prison system perform when compared to these education programs? A Justice Department study released in April 1989 showed that 63 percent of the inmates released from prisons are rearrested for a serious crime *within three years*. Indeed, recidivism rates were highest in the first year—25 percent were rearrested within six months, and 40 percent within the first year. There is an abundant amount of evidence to show that the best and most cost effective strategy is *to keep people out of jail in the first place*. Of those under the age of 25 who had 11 or more prior arrests, *94 percent* were rearrested. Jails rehabilitate a very small percentage of inmates.

Between 1980 and 1986, U.S. state and federal prison populations rose by *65.7 percent*, from 329,921 in 1980 to 546,659 prisoners in 1986, of whom 523,922 were sentenced to more than one year in 1986, undoubtedly much of the increase in arrests are drug related. The total cost of criminal justice activity in 1985 was $45 billion, up from $22 billion in 1980! Our higher education system, the envy of almost all the world, cost only $98 billion in 1985, up only from $62 billion in 1980. While our investment in prisons doubled, our higher education investment increased only one-third. Is this how we remain competitive as a nation?

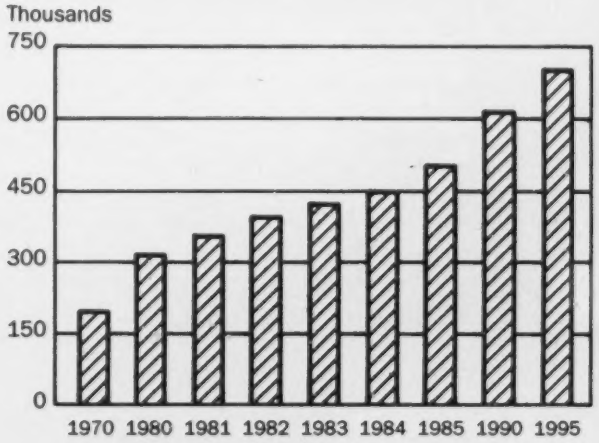
The best way to reduce our criminal justice expenditures (little return on that investment) is to invest in our educational system, particularly at those points that maximize our return on the investment—early childhood programs of the Head Start variety plus adequate day care, increasing high school graduation rates with increased performance, and increasing access to college for everyone able to profit from it through TRIO and Upward Bound.

Already, many states are working through a strong juvenile justice association, to link up in useful ways with their educational leadership. The role of truant officers and juvenile court justices as linkage points between the two systems seems to be a valuable approach. There are few empire builders in the prison business—most leaders would rather *not* spend the millions required for new prison construction. However, given our current operation of prisons at 116 percent of capacity, there seems to be no other short term solution. The best *long term* solution is to increase the ability of the educational system to ensure that young people will not drop out of high school.

Prisons do not age-grade their services past a rudimentary "juvenile" and "everybody else" division. As our population ages, we may even find that the increase in life sentences with no parole will mean a group of elderly prisoners, in need of very expensive medical services provided in jail cells! Violent crime tends to decrease by age, either due to declines in testosterone levels or because most of the violent are in jail or dead. The age of violent criminals has declined some, meaning that 17-year-old murderers are more frequent now, and will have longer periods of incarceration during their "active criminal life" than one whose first crime is committed at age 26. The increased years of prison will, of course, be paid for by the taxpayer.

During the period 1980-87, of all taxpayer-funded social services, investment in our prison system has increased faster than any other, including education, transportation, health care,(depending on whose numbers you use) housing and welfare. The U.S. incarceration rate is the highest in the world, with the exceptions of South Africa and Russia. What kind of social policy is this?

FEDERAL AND STATE PRISON POPULATIONS CONTINUE TO GROW



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1986.
Projections: United Way of America Environmental Scan Committee.

A Brief Look at Education's Future

School demographics suggest that even with the "Baby Boomlet" entering elementary schools, the nation's under 18 population will actually *decline* between 1990 and 2010, as the Boomlet is concentrated in only five states, and will be replaced by a much smaller group. The map below shows the change in each state's high school graduate population from 1986-2004.

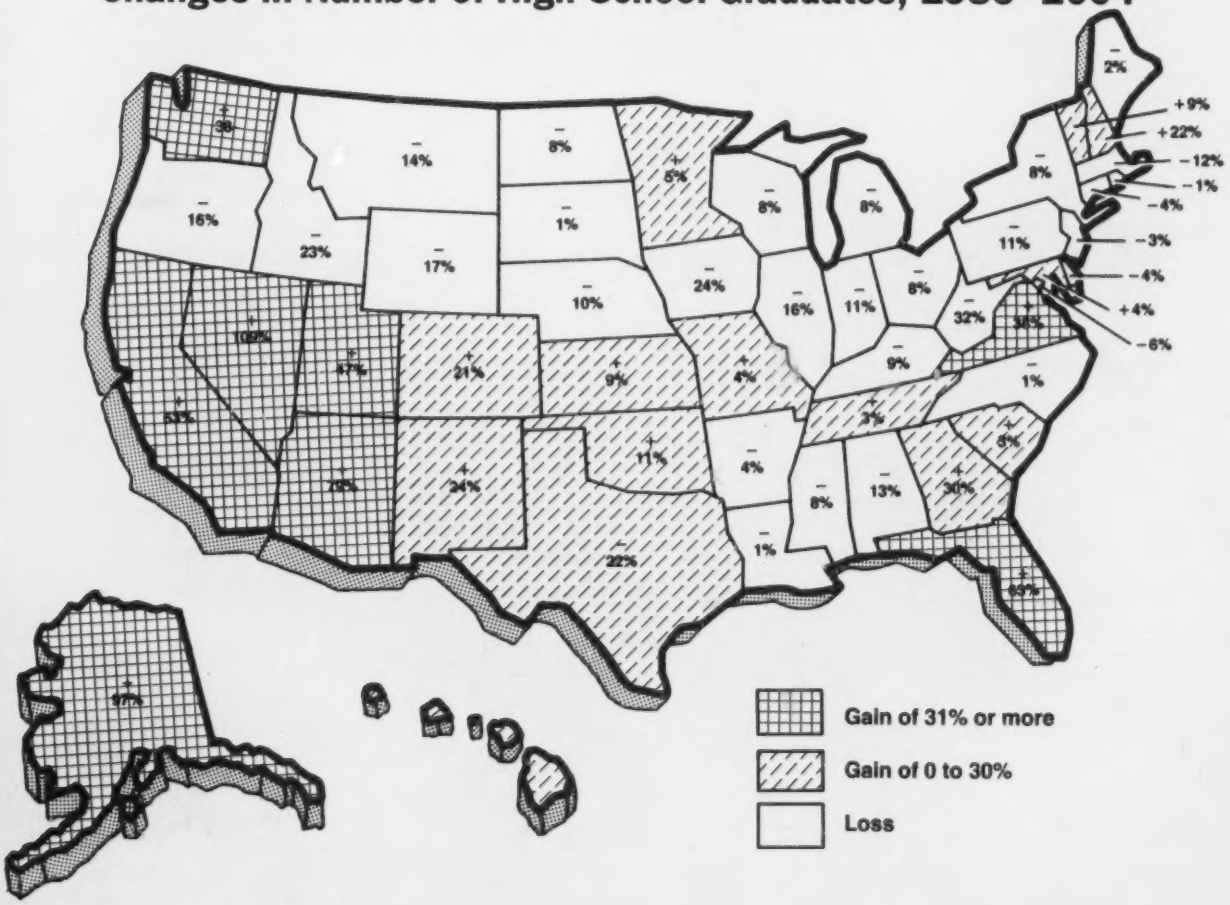
If we concentrate on a small number of very large states, we can see another pattern: half of America's people (and half of America's children) live in only *nine* states, all either very high or low growth (see Table A, page 18).

Clearly, California, Texas and Florida will increase in total population, Federal dollars and children! Table A was carried past the top nine—with half the people—to make another point. Massachusetts used to be 10th, and is now surpassed by three southeastern states which have experienced major growth. (Western states like Arizona and Colorado have grown in percentage, but still have comparatively small total populations.)

Return to our Big Nine States in Table B for a moment. If we begin to look at the school age populations predicted for these states in 2010, we see some truly astonishing things. We will have 62,644,000 school age kids in the U.S. in 2010, of whom 32,392,000 will live in our Big Nine states. Of that 32 million, 15 million will be minority. Remember that the Big Nine total of 32 million is half of all the kids in the U.S. Thirteen states plus D.C. will have more than 40 percent of their students from minority backgrounds. Remember also that 2010 is only 21 years away, not much time to make sure that in the Big Nine, all young people get a good education and a good job! If we fail, the economies of these states will be close to ruin. And in all states, 38.2% of all students in 2010 will be minority.

In addition, the rich states are getting richer and the poor ones poorer (see Table C). A glance at the bottom ten will reveal an important new development: regional patterns of state wealth have changed considerably. Regional comparisons by the U.S. Department of Com-

Changes in Number of High-School Graduates, 1986–2004



Source: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education.

TABLE A

STATE BY RANK		1988 POPULATION	GROWTH, 1980-88	GROWTH RANK
1.	California	28,168,000	+19.0%	6th
2.	New York	17,898,000	+ 1.9%	40th
3.	Texas	16,780,000	+17.9%	7th
4.	Florida	12,377,000	+27.0%	4th
5.	Pennsylvania	12,027,000	+ 1.4%	44th
6.	Illinois	11,544,000	+ 1.0%	45th
7.	Ohio	10,872,000	+ 0.7%	46th
8.	Michigan	9,300,000	+ 0.4%	47th
9.	New Jersey	7,720,000	+ 4.8%	30th
Nine state total: 126,686,000 of U.S. total of 245,807,000				
10.	North Carolina	6,526,000	+11.0%	17th
11.	Georgia	6,401,000	+17.2%	8th
12.	Virginia	5,996,000	+12.1%	13th
13.	Massachusetts	5,871,000	+ 2.3%	37th

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE B

	MINORITY KIDS		TOTAL KIDS
	1990	2010	2010
California	46.4%	56.9%	8,520,000
Texas	47.1%	56.9%	5,418,000
Florida	46.4%	53.4%	3,270,000
New York	39.9%	52.8%	3,862,000
New Jersey	36.6%	45.7%	1,935,000
Illinois	32.7%	41.7%	2,684,000
Michigan	22.8%	29.2%	2,094,000
Ohio	16.7%	20.8%	2,349,000
Pennsylvania	15.4%	18.7%	2,260,000

Source: *American Demographics*, May, 1989.

TABLE C

PER CAPITA INCOME, HIGH AND LOW STATES, 1988

1. Connecticut	$22,761	41. Montana	$12,670
2. New Jersey	$21,882	42. Idaho	$12,657
3. Massachusetts	$20,701	43. Alabama	$12,604
4. Alaska	$19,514	44. New Mexico	$12,481
5. Maryland	$19,314	45. South Dakota	$12,475
6. New York	$19,299	46. Louisiana	$12,193
7. New Hampshire	$19,016	47. Arkansas	$12,172
8. California	$18,855	48. Utah	$12,013
9. Delaware	$17,699	49. West Virgina	$11,658
10. Virginia	$17,640	50. Mississippi	$10,992

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

merce shown below show the widest gap between wealthy and poor regions since 1969:

Regional Comparisons Ranked by Per Capita Income

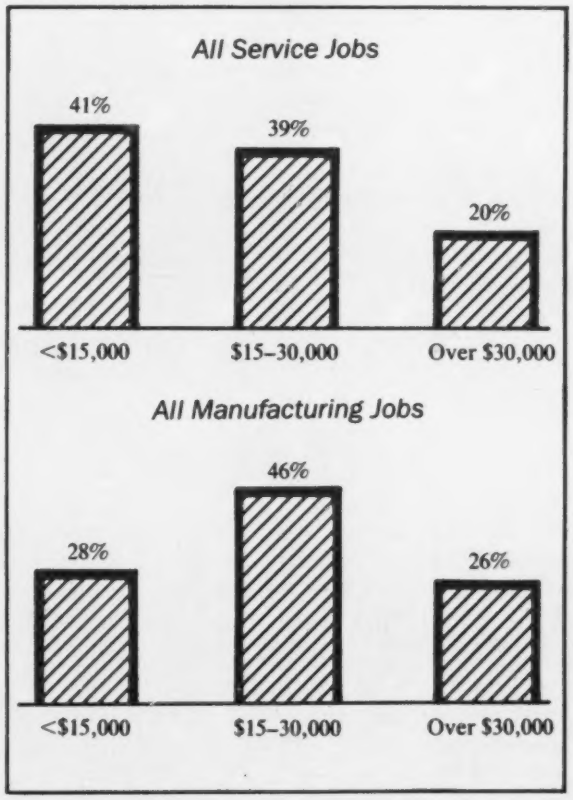
1. New England
2. Mid-Atlantic
3. Plains
4. Southwest
5. Southeast
6. Rockies

A generalization that seems to hold for the end of the 1980's is that *states and families are getting more unlike each other in terms of income*- more rich, more poor, and fewer in the middle.

In 1988, about 4.5 million people worked full time, yet were eligible for poverty benefits. This is a relatively new condition—many more poor families, as well as homeless families, in which there is one or more full-time workers. The bargain we have had since World War II is: *If you work full-time, you shouldn't be poor*. After WW II, the world's manufacturing capacity had been bombed to the ground—except for ours. We made cars and refrigerators for the world, with no competition. In the Fifties, a poorly educated man could work in a factory, have two cars in the garage, three kids and a nonworking wife, and the kids could go to college. We have assumed this to be the norm, when it was actually an aberration which we have never seen before, and never will see again.

The service workforce, now more than half of the jobs in our economy, is skewed to the low end of wages, while manufacturing (still a steady 20 percent of jobs) has more jobs in the middle of the wage scale than at either extreme (see chart below).

PAY LEVELS



Source: *New England Economic Review*, July–August, 1986.

Look at the jobs that are increasing the fastest as a *percentage* of total jobs (see Table D below). If we look at where the largest *number* of new jobs are and will be, we get a very different picture (see Table E below). According to the well done analysis, *Workforce 2000*, by the Hudson Institute, we can anticipate that the U.S. will add 20 million new workers to its workforce from 1980 to 2000, and that *82 percent of the new workers will be a combination of female, nonwhite, and immigrant*. If these groups continue to be clustered at the low end of the service economy, the country will be the poorer. However, as white fertility levels continue to decline, it is imperative that we educate minorities, immigrants and women well enough so that many of them can take the well-paying jobs in high and midtechnology. (Only about 18 percent of the new workers from 1980-2000 will be white males.)

We are also entering a truly international era in economic development. American companies like Ford have become very sophisticated about international manufacturing and marketing, and America's skills in pluralism should stand us in good stead during the next century, both as a manufacturing giant and as the choice of two-thirds of the world's immigrants. We can make pluralism work.

TABLE D

MOST RAPIDLY GROWING OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	PERCENT GROWTH IN EMPLOYMENT, 1978–90	NUMBER OF NEW JOBS BY 1990
All Occupations	22.5%	21,980,000
Data Processing Machine Mechanics	147.6	96,572
Paralegal Personnel	132.4	39,310
Computer Systems Analysts	107.8	203,357
Computer Operators	87.9	151,100
Office Machine and Cash Register Servicers	80.8	40,668
Computer Programmers	73.6	153,051
Aero-astronautic Engineers	70.4	41,315
Food Preparation and Service Workers, FAST Food Restaurants	68.8	491,900
Employment Interviewers	66.6	35,179
Tax Preparers	64.5	19,997

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*.

TABLE E

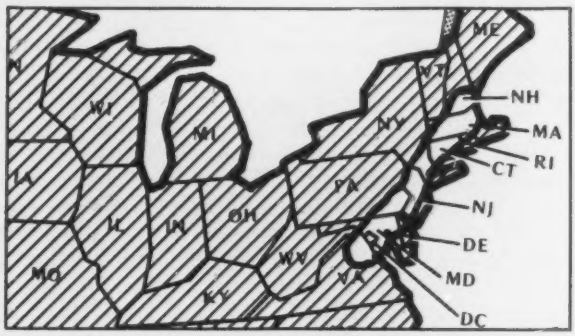
LARGEST NUMBERS OF NEW JOBS

OCCUPATION	GROWTH IN EMPLOYMENT (in thousands) 1978–1990
Janitors and Sextons	671.2
Nurses' Aides and orderlies	594.0
Sales Clerks	590.7
Cashiers	545.5
Waiters/Waitresses	531.9
General Clerks, Office	529.8
Professional Nurses	515.8
Food Preparation and Service Workers, Fast Food Restaurants	491.9
Secretaries	487.8
Truckdrivers	437.6

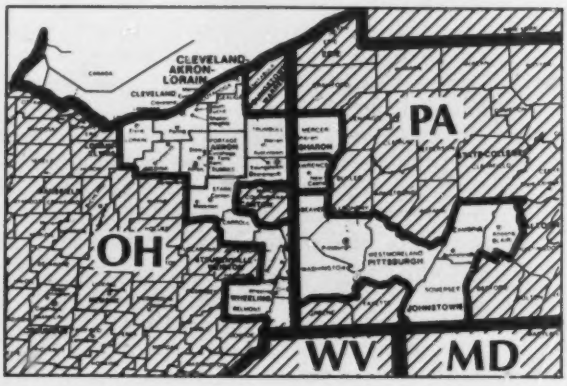
Source: U.S. Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*.

New Forces for Getting Together in the 1990's: Moving Metros

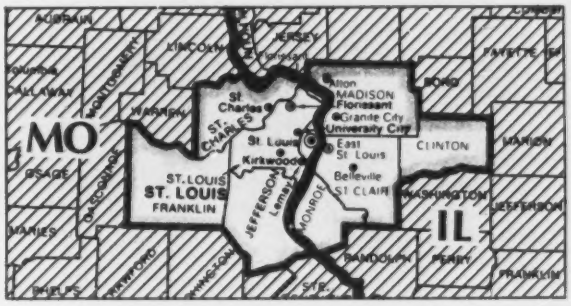
One of the most fascinating things about demographics is the study of metropolitan areas in the U.S. *They are moving.* Most cities and metro areas actually wander around, quite like amoeba, extending a feeler here or there, and then pulling themselves along. Sometimes, they crawl across state lines, making governance very difficult. The largest example is "Boswash," the single area of very dense population that extends from north of Boston in New Hampshire to south of Washington almost to Richmond, where one-sixth of our population lives. In many respects, this is the biggest "city" in the world: 42.5 million people live in 25 linked metro areas packed into 1.2 percent of the U.S. land area. Goods, services, people and ideas are transported with great speed and efficiency in this very high density corridor. It functions because the densities mean it *has* to. (There is an urgency about large numbers of people. The Japanese are efficient, not because they're so smart, but because they're so dense. Remember that New Jersey is denser than Japan.)



State lines don't mean much if you cross them twice a day, as millions of Boswash commuters do. Cooperation between governments (both cities and states) becomes an absolute necessity. Boswash functions well in part because *it doesn't have a mayor.* Pragmatism dictates intersector voluntary cooperation, not governments. A couple of additional examples may suffice. First, the metro area of "Cleveburgh," discovered during the author's analysis of Pennsylvania, having already completed Ohio.

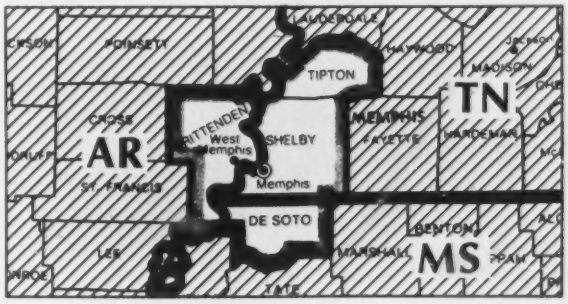


Cleveburgh is actually a single area of high density which happens to flop over a state line. (If you're from Pennsylvania, you can call it "Pittsland" if you can pronounce it.) But who *governs* it? The answer so far seems to be "nobody, but it's working pretty well." Another example is the second largest metro area in Illinois, which happens to be St. Louis.

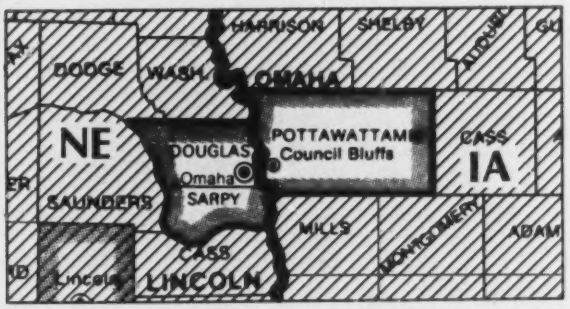


About 35 percent of the St. Louis metro area is in Illinois. From the perspective of the Belleville (IL) Public Schools, it is not clear whether this is a benefit or not. Belleville Township, where the author has spoken, is an excellent "small town" school system, disturbed by what is seen as "big city" influences moving toward them from St. Louis.

If one were to ask in a geography lesson, the name of the largest metro area in Arkansas, one would be surprised at the answer: Memphis! About a quarter of Memphis is located in Arkansas, and 10 percent is in Mississippi, making Memphis the largest metro in *two* states it doesn't even belong to.



One more example will suffice. What's the largest metro area in Iowa? The answer happens to be *Omaha*, most of which has now wandered across the border into Iowa.



Now that you've got the hang of it, think of Missouri, with Kansas City and St. Louis attaching it to neighboring states. Think of Portland, Oregon, moving toward Seattle (WA) at about three miles a year; Cincinnati, whose airport is in Kentucky; Minneapolis-St. Paul, closely connected to Wisconsin in many ways; Louisville, Kentucky, in which three of the seven counties making up the metro are in Indiana; the combined metro area of Philadelphia-Wilmington-Trenton, stapling three states to a common waterfront area—the list is virtually endless. State lines are very permeable, more so than governments.

THE NEW COLLABORATION—WATCH THAT TIGER!

These matters are of more than academic interest. With the 1990 Census will come the most frantic, energetic efforts at redistricting the nation we have ever seen. It's the law that states and cities must redraw their boundaries after each ten year Census—that's *all* congressional districts, all state legislative districts, all city and county-based jurisdictions such as city and county councils and school boards. The two major parties obviously see this as the most important battle of the decade.

In all past decades, these major decisions have been made by a few pols, probably smoking cigars, with a map and a grease pencil, in some very nonpublic places. But, thanks to TIGER, (Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing System), that situation has changed forever. The Census Bureau's TIGER will make the 1990 Census available on compact laser disks which can be read and played with by most home computers. Thus, *everybody* who wants to, can now play this vital game. Who wants to play? Every special interest group that operates in any state. As a result, there will be *thousands* of districting plans for each state in the 1990's, and more court adjudications than we have ever seen before. The bad side is that the spectacular gerrymandering that took place in California, for example, could happen in any state or district in the 1990's. The *good* side is that TIGER will allow anyone to spot a fraudulent plan instantly. In the 1980's, the districting maps were drawn by people and checked out by massive mainframe computers. In the 1990's, the maps will be *drawn* by desktop computers and checked by people. (If you want to pay for it, TIGER has the ability to draw a picture of America for each state, city, county, zip code, census tract, neighborhood, or *block*.)

In addition to TIGER, we will be deciding which cities become metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), which many small cities want desperately to become, which of those will become combined metro areas or CMSAs, and which states will gain in seats in the House of Representatives and which will lose. (South and West win, Northeast and Midwest lose.) Population shifts have great influence on political boundaries, on federal and state moneys for everything from hospitals to highways, on how cities will be allowed to combine forces, even across state lines.

As we think about running schools and colleges, and wonder how much money there will be, what the geographical service areas will be, what the students will be like, whether enrollments will decline or increase, whether we will build new facilities—all of these, and many others, will be decided to a considerable extent by population dynamics. The more educators are familiar with these demographic tools, the less likely they are to be unprepared.

In addition, it seems likely that as information about population dynamics becomes more widely available, leaders may look to new forms of collaboration based on *how their clients and constituents actually spend their lives*. People working in Massachusetts often live in Rhode Island and New Hampshire because housing and taxes are lower. To admit this is to admit that these states will have to develop patterns of action that are more collaborative than in the past—Boston is an important resource for at least three states, all of whom have a stake in its future. This example can be multiplied many fold, including the Chicago-Gary-Kenosha combined metro area.

Some of the educational issues here are major ones. How can suburbs be made to see that if they continue to take the money away from core cities so that these cities cannot provide services for their citizens, the suburbs will suffer in the long run? (Two-thirds of the income generated in the city of Chicago is taken home to the suburbs to be spent.) As jobs also move to the suburbs, this relationship gets even more vital. In areas like Louisville, Kentucky, in which the Jefferson County Schools now enroll both suburban and city students, one can see the great benefits of that organization, both for desegregation and for high quality instruction for every child.

How do we deal with school districts which have genuine allegiances to several states or cities? How about "magnet" schools which attract students from other districts or states? (Early evidence in Minnesota suggests that the major reason parents put their children in "choice" schools is for convenience and commuting, not because of the perception of superior instruction.) One senses that the 1990's will show an increased amount of collaboration between schools, school districts, businesses, states, and *agencies that serve children at each of these levels*. One reason for this increase will be better information on the people who are actually served by social programs, and how, in a time of limited funding, services can be teamed up to provide better delivery at the lowest cost.

The Reform Movement Flunks the Demographics Agenda

We have now had almost a decade of school reform. A tentative look at the results so far would include the following:

- "Threshold" exams for kids and teachers, establishing "minimal competence" levels which, if not met, will mean that the child gets held back or the teacher doesn't get hired.
- More difficult curricula.
- Choice plans, assuming parents will choose the "good" schools for their kids and shut down the "bad" ones.
- Restructuring schools to give the individual school more control over its destiny.

Our look at demographics suggests the following as the most urgent educational *needs* for the nation:

- Focus attention on the improvement of our "bottom third" of students.
- Reduce youth poverty, currently 40 percent of all poor.
- Prepare at-risk children for school by mandating Head Start type programs for *all* eligible children.
- Get more young people to graduate from high school and college.
- Enlarge the talent pool of high achieving minority and poverty children.
- Develop programs for youth who are at risk from several causes *simultaneously*—school failure, drugs, pregnancy, and arrests.

How well has the reform effort done on our demographic agenda?

- No increase in high schoool or college graduation rates.
- No reduction in youth poverty.
- City schools are today *more* segregated for Hispanic students than they were for blacks, according to Gary Orfield, of the University of Chicago.
- There is no gain in scores of the "lowest third."
- No increase in equity funding, providing the resources that give every child a chance to actually attain the higher standards that some 40 states have adopted.

A New Tack

We propose that, based on our analysis, legislative leaders at federal, state and local (city council) levels begin to exert pressure on their education, health, housing and transportation bureaucracies to begin working on the demographic agenda we have outlined. Although the work on interagency collaboration is relatively new, we do have some success stories, in the form of the International Geophysical Year, which brought federal scientific agencies together; Head Start, which combines health, nutrition, parent involvement and education; and the 200 "education compacts," with the potential of collaboration between business, schools and higher education, to guarantee a job or college experience for every graduate of the schools.

Although this task could be taken on by legislative groups alone, it makes better sense to proceed through a budget-based strategy, working with the executive (President, Governor or Mayor). If the executive announces his/her preferences for jointly funded and implemented projects, the legislative budget committees at local, state and federal levels could begin to frame budget proposals based on shared funding across agencies, which the executive could support at budget submission time. Here are some techniques that have been useful:

- Hold joint committee hearings in areas of interagency collaboration (health and education, housing and transportation).
- Fund projects across agencies and assign oversight accountability to joint committees.
- Require joint budget presentations of agency leaders in interagency projects.
- Establish a common set of legislative—executive goals, to be implemented in part *across agencies*, with accountability and timelines spelled out (a management plan, if you will).

It would seem that large infusions of new funds for social programs are not forthcoming from *any* level of government. That being the case, we simply have to get more mileage out of the resources and organizations we now have. Interagency collaboration is one logical solution to a number of the issues we have raised in this book. It should be clear that improvements in one area can actually improve other areas simultaneously, producing a "win-win" game instead of a "zero-sum" game. If health wins, education wins as well. If education wins, prisons win as well.

The problems are important while the demographics suggest that a limited amount of time is available for their solution. At the center of all our social agencies sits a client who must be housed, transported, educated, fed and kept healthy. For every agency, *it is the same person, the same client.*

IT IS CHEAPER, EASIER AND MORE EFFECTIVE TO:

1. Keep people from falling into poverty in the first place rather than to get them out later.
2. Keep all kinds of families intact rather than arrange adoption and foster care facilities later.
3. Keep students performing at grade level by "front loading" resources toward those most at risk, rather than telling them at the *end* of third grade that they failed when no effort was made to provide the resources that could have meant success.
4. Keep people out of prisons rather than trying to rehabilitate them later.
5. Keep low income people in an expanding supply of affordable housing rather than increasing the number of homeless families, often with children and one or more full-time workers.
6. Keep mass transit so that low income workers can continue to have jobs, housing and some freedom.
7. Keep kids from getting sick (or hungry) rather than providing massive programs for curing (or feeding) them after the damage has been done.

Although these points are obvious, it is estimated by the author that we spend in general fifteen percent of our money on prevention programs and *eighty-five percent* on rather ineffective "cures" in all social service areas.

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WHERE DO AGENCIES PERFORM BEST AND WORST DURING A PERSON'S LIFETIME?

1. **Health:**

   Best—"High tech" medicine for those that can pay, particularly those in middle years.

   Worst—Health care for the very young and very old who do not have insurance or compensation plans. Those less than one year old are more at risk of dying in the U.S. than in any other OECD nation. Many handicapped children in school could have had their handicaps reduced or eliminated through proper medical care while their mothers were pregnant.

2. **Housing:**

   Best—High priced condos and second homes for affluent people in their late forties and fifties.

   Worst—Eight million working poor compete for 4 million low income housing units. About 2 million people are homeless. Little thought to housing for elderly citizens, like "Granny Flats." Little thought to housing needs of single parents raising 15 million children; i.e., study space.

3. **Transportation:**

   Best—Private, nonpublic (corporate jets, charters), high density fixed destination rail in new settings (BART in San Francisco, METRO in Washington), school buses (22 million riders a day).

   Worst—Multiple bus routes that single mothers use to get kids to day care and themselves to work. Housing is too far from job, which is too far from school, which is too far from day care. Some subsidies for elderly, handicapped on mass transit rather than flexible, "dial-a-ride" strategies which could meet elderly, handicapped needs better.

4. **Corrections:**

   Best—Low recidivism (one punishment, no more offenses, especially good for youthful offenders, high access to the straight world of jobs, housing responsibility).

   Worst—Overcrowded jails spending about $20,000 a year to house each prisoner, six times what we spend on a college student or Head Start child. Sixty-three percent of prisoners are re-arrested within three years of their release. Prison populations increased by more than 60 percent during 1980-87. Most prisons do not rehabilitate.

5. **Education:**

   Best—Early childhood programs like Head Start, but only one slot in program for every *six* eligible children. Special education for handicapped students is excellent, but expensive—(prenatal care of the mother during first trimester of pregnancy could reduce the number of handicapped children strikingly and cheaply). Suburban schools are doing well, including suburban minority students. Higher education in America is excellent in terms of quality, participation rates, but not graduation rates.

   Worst—Low high school graduation rate, tough problems arise in junior high, or "middle schools." Hispanic kids are in more segregated schools than blacks have been, kids are becoming very diverse by ethnic background, teachers and curricula are not. Inadequate day care, Head Start eligibility levels not matched by program slots—youngest kids are the most "at risk." Little attention given to educational needs of citizens over forty—almost half of our citizens.